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Basis for National Entity

'Real Revolution in South Viet-Nam' Is Quest for Leadership

By Chambers M. Roberts
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The mysteries of the Vietnamese war are manifold: how badly goes the war in the South? Do the Communists really believe the United States is just another France? What has been the effect of the air attacks thus far on North Viet-Nam? Will the Communist world send in "volunteers"?

Behind all these and other aspects of the maze lies the question of who is who in



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South Viet-Nam and what do the people of that tortured country really want.

On this latter point, and it is a key one, a great deal of light has been thrown by the lead article in the 25th issue of *Foreign Affairs* quarterly.

Required Reading

The article, by George A. Carver Jr., entitled "The Real Revolution in South Viet-Nam," is required reading if one seeks to make sense of the war.

The core of the Carver article is that the internal confusion so evident in the South since Ngo Dinh Diem's assassination in 1963 reflects emotions that "derive from a desire to find and assert a Vietnamese identity."

Carver discusses the history of Catholicism and Buddhism in Viet-Nam, the French legacy, the breakdown of institutionalized rule, the volatile and intensely nationalistic students and the rise of the Young Turks in the military.

The article brings into focus the post-Diem anti-Catholicism. It states that the Buddhist movement "was and remains consider-

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ably more concerned with political issues than matters of religious doctrine." And it concludes that history and circumstance "have made Buddhism the focus and rallying symbol not only of political opposition to Catholic dominance but, more importantly, of inchoate nationalist aspirations, including a desire to be rid of alien doctrine and to find a 'Vietnamese' solution to South Viet-Nam's political problems."

The students, Carver finds, "seem to be potential followers searching for new leaders with Vietnamese answers to Viet-Nam's difficulties."

The military Young Turks likewise suffer from a complex restlessness although, says Carver, this does not yet seem to have produced "any element of defeatism or desire for accommodation with the enemy."

In sum, Carver finds a

"revolution" in full flower within the South but a revolution not to be "confused with the Hanoi-directed Communist insurgency."

The real danger, he says, is that the indigenous revolution will tear the country apart "or be halted, if not ended, by a Communist victory materially aided by the turmoil it has created."

His conclusion is that "if South Viet-Nam's real revolution does not destroy the country first, over the longer term it may prove the eventual undoing of Communist ambitions and produce a real national entity where none has heretofore existed."